

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2179
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6910
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 1419

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SECDEF AND USNMR SHAPE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), NATO, PFOR, NAC
SUBJECT: THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT TO NATO: DRAFT OBJECT-
IVES AND ISSUES PAPER

BEGIN SUMMARY OF DRAFT OBJECTIVES AND ISSUES PAPER FOR THE
SECRETARY'S VISIT TO NATO TO ASSIST IN PREPARATIONS FOR YOUR VISIT
TO NATO, WE DESCRIBE IN THIS PAPER THE MOOD OF THE ALLIES
AND THEMES AND ISSUES YOU SHOULD COVER IN YOUR MEETING WITH
THE COUNCIL.
END SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION: YOUR VISIT TO NATO PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY
TO DEMONSTRATE TO ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES, THEIR GOVERNMENTS,
AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN MEDIA THE ADMINISTRATION'S CON-
TINUING COMMITMENT TO CONSULTATIONS ON ISSUES CENTRAL TO
EAST-WEST RELATIONS. YOU WILL FIND THE ALLIES IN A
QUESTIONING MOOD, EAGER TO LEARN ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF
YOUR PROSPECTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET LEADERS AND
ANXIOUS, ABOVE ALL, TO BE REASSURED ABOUT THE ADMINIS-
TRATION'S SENSITIVITY TO ALLIED CONCERNS. ADMINISTRATION'S
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INITIATIVES IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD HAVE LEFT
WESTERN EUROPE SOMEWHAT BREATHLESS AND OFF BALANCE.
OUR ALLIES ARE UNCERTAIN AS YET ABOUT THE SCOPE OF US
OBJECTIVES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THE DETAILS OF
US PLANS FOR WORKING TOWARD THESE OBJECTIVES. THUS,
YOU CAN PROVIDE FURTHER ASSURANCES OF INTENT TO CONSULT,
AS US PLANS ARE DEVELOPED, IN LINE WITH VICE-PRESIDENT
MONDALE'S JANUARY PLEDGE TO THE COUNCIL. SPECIFICALLY, WE
BELIEVE YOU SHOULD DESCRIBE IN SOME DETAIL THE GENERAL

US APPROACH TO RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, OUTLINE
THE PROGRAM FOR DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW, AND COVER A RANGE
OF QUESTIONS ON SALT, ARMS CONTROL, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND
OTHER ISSUES LISTED BELOW. THE MESSAGE WE BELIEVE YOU
SHOULD LEAVE WITH THE ALLIES IS THAT WE SEE THEM AS ACTIVE
PARTICIPANTS IN OUR COMMON ENDEAVORS TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL
LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC AND OTHER WEAPONS, TO FOSTER
DETENTE, AND TO STRENGTHEN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. END
INTRODUCTION.

1. THE ALLIES WILL WARMLY WELCOME YOUR VISIT TO NATO
HEADQUARTERS AND WILL APPRECIATE YOUR READINESS TO
REVIEW WITH THEM THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLANS FOR DIS-
CUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS--BEFORE YOU PROCEED TO MOSCOW.
FOR THE SMALLER ALLIES, YOUR VISIT TO NATO HEADQUARTERS
WILL BE ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT, SINCE IT WILL PROVIDE A
SENSE OF DIRECT CONTACT, THROUGH THEIR REPRESENTATIVES
HERE, WITH THE NEW AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE. YOUR
MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL, TWO MONTHS AFTER PRESIDENT
CARTER'S INAUGURATION, WILL ALSO SIGNIFY THE
IMPORTANCE THE US ATTACHES TO CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR
ALLIES AS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF OUR
RELATIONS WITH THE EAST AND EFFORTS TO LIMIT AND REDUCE
STRATEGIC ARMS COMPETITION. IT WILL FURTHER SYMBOLIZE
OUR ATTACHMENT TO THE ALLIANCE SO DRAMATICALLY UNDERLINED
BY VICE-PRESIDENT MONDALE IN HIS STATEMENT TO THE COUNCIL
ON JANUARY 24.

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2. YOUR VISIT TO NATO COMES AT A TIME WHEN OUR WESTERN
ALLIES ARE IMPRESSED, INTRIGUED, AND EVEN ASTONISHED,
BY THE VIGOR THE PRESIDENT HAS SHOWN IN THE
FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. ALLIED OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN
STRUCK PARTICULARLY BY THE ADMINISTRATION'S FORCEFULNESS
AND SPEED IN:

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ACTION SS-25

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USNATO 1419

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--TACKLING FESTERING REGIONAL PROBLEMS--

THE TURKEY-GREECE-CYPRUS TRIANGLE, THE
MIDDLE EAST, AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES,
ALL OF DIRECT INTEREST TO THE ALLIANCE,
AS WELL AS CHALLENGES FURTHER AFIELD SUCH
AS PANAMA AND VIETNAM.

--SEEKING THROUGH THE DIRECT,
PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED PROPOSALS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO MOVE WITH DISPATCH TO AGREEMENT WITH
THE SOVIET SOON A SERIES OF ARMS CONTROL
MEASURES RELEVANT TO ALLIED SECURITY.

--SUCCEEDING, AS IT SEEMS AT PRESENT, IN
CHANGING THE GROUND RULES OF EAST-WEST
RELATIONS BY EMBRACING IDEOLOGIC COMPETITION
IN

IN A WAY THAT HAS DRAMATIZED THE APPEAL
OF LIBERAL WESTERN SOCIETY AND HAS PLACED
THE SOVIETS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

3. THERE IS MUCH IN ALL OF THIS THAT IS NEW TO THE ALLIES--
NOT ONLY THE PERSONALITIES, STYLE AND TONE, BUT ALSO THE
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AFFIRMATION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE A SALIENT A FEATURE
OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THE ALLIES ARE DELIGHTED, AND
EVEN EXHILARATED, WITH THE LEADERSHIP THE NEW
ADMINISTRATION HAS DEMONSTRATED. BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET
ASSIMILATED THE IMPORT OF OUR POLICIES NOR REACHED FIRM
CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THEIR LONG-RANGE IMPACT ON EAST-
WEST RELATIONS, THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, AND TRANS-
ATLANTIC RELATIONS. THE ALLIES ARE IN A QUESTIONING
MOOD, AND THEY WILL BE LOOKING FOR REASSURANCES REGARDING
THE FOLLOWING CENTRAL CONCERNS:

--THAT THE CALCULATED SOVIET REACTION TO
THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
MAY YET BE BRUTAL OR THAT
EFFERVESCENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE
MAY PROMPT A CLUMSY SOVIET CRACKDOWN; THAT SUCH REACTIONS
MAY SET VACK DETENTE, COMPLICATE THE BILATERAL
RELATIONS OF OUR ALLIES WITH EASTERN EUROPE,
AND POSE DILEMMAS IN THE DOMESTIC POLITICS
OF WESTERN COUNTRIES.

--THAT THE PRESIDENT'S THRUST, THROUGH DICT

CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIETS, FOR RAPID CONCLUSION
OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS THAT IMPINGE ON THE
SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE DEFENSE PLANS
OF SOME ALLIES, POINTS TOWARD A US-SOVIET
AGENDA TO BE CARRIED FORWARD ON AN AD HOC
BASIS WITHOUT COLLECTIVE ANALYSIS OR
CONSULTATION AMONG THE NATO ALLIES.
--THAT THE VIGOR AND IMAGINATION OF THE
NEW ADMINISTRATION, BOLSTERED BY LEGISLATIVE MAJORITY AND BY
ECONOMIC STRENGTH BETTER ABLE TO ACCOMMODATE CURRENT EXIGENCIES
THAN THAT OF MOST ALLIES, FORESHADOW
A PERIOD IN WHICH THE US WILL BE, OVER-
WHELMINGLY, THE PRINCIPAL PROTAGONIST
IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS; THAT THE US
WILL BE SETTING THE RULES AND TAKING
THE INITIATIVES, WHILE THE ALLIES ATTEMPT TO ADJUST,
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ADAPT, AND UNDERSTAND WHAT WE ARE ABOUT;
IN BRIEF, THAT THE ALLIES MAY BE ADJUNCTS
TO THE ACTIVITIES WE HAVE LAUNCHED,
RATHER THAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

4. WE HAVE DONE MUCH ALREADY TO ALLEVIATE ALLIED CONCERNS
THROUGH THE PROGRAM OF CONSULTATIONS CARRIED FORWARD
UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. VICE-PRESIDENT MONDALE'S
VISIT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON'S MARCH 11 BRIEFING
ON YOUR TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST, A FULL REPORT ON
AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S TRIP TO AFRICA, BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USNATO 1419

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WITH MAJOR ALLIES, TOGETHER WITH YOUR VISIT TND THE BRIEFINGS PLANNED FOLLOWING YOUR TRIP TO MOSCOW--THESE STEPS HAVE PROVIDED IMPORTANT ASSURANCES TO THE ALLIES OF OUR WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT AND TO CONSIDER THEIR VIEWS.

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE ALLIES WILL WISH TO HEAR, TO THE DEGREE YOU CAN COVER SUCH MATTERS IN YOUR OPENING STATEMENT AND IN RESPONSE TO THEIR QUESTIONS, A REVIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S THINKING AND EXPECTATIONS REGARDING THE FOLLOWING ISSUES:

--SALT:

A) WHAT HAS THE NEW ADMINISTRATION PROPOSED TO THE SOVIETS ALREADY AND HOW HAVE THE SOVIETS RESPONDED?

B) WHAT WILL THE US PROPOSE IN MOSCOW?

C) WHERE DO WE STAND WITH THE SOVIETS ON CRUISE MISSILES AND BACKFIRE? DID THE US PROPOSE EXCLUDING CRUISE MISSILES FROM SALT II IN ORDER TO PRESERVE DEPLOYMENT OR TO SIMPLIFY SALT II, OR BOTH?

D) THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECOGNITION OF ALLIED INTEREST IN NON-TRANSFER AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS

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AND FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS.

E) US VIEWS ON THE SS-20, AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE "EUROSTRATEGIC" THREAT.

-- OTHER ARMS CONTROL ISSUES:

A) MBFR: ARE THERE ANY NEW SIGNALS FROM THE SOVIETS AS TO THEIR EXPECTATIONS AND OBJECTIVES? DO YOU BELIEVE THAT FOR THE SOVIETS SALT II IS A PREREQUISITE TO PROGRESS IN MBFR?

B) CTB: IN LIGHT OF SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT ALL NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES MUST BE PARTIES, WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR ACHIEVING THE PRESIDENT'S OBJECTIVES OF HALTING FIRST US AND SOVIET TESTING AND FOR MODIFYING THE PRESENT SOVIET POSTURE?

C) US PROPOSALS AND STUDIES, REGARDING THE INDIAN OCEAN, SATELLITES, MISSILE LAUNCHES, NAVAL LIMITATIONS, AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS: WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR BILATERAL US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON THESE ISSUES? HOW HAVE THE SOVIETS REACTED TO THE PROPOSALS ALREADY PUT TO THEM? WILL ALLIED SECURITY CONCERNS BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AND HOW MIGHT THE ALLIES MOST USEFULLY PROVIDE THEIR VIEWS?

-- OTHER ISSUES:

A) CSCE: AN AFFIRMATION OF OUR INTENTION
TO MAINTAIN THE EMPHASIS ON IMPLEMENTATION
AT BELGRADE.

B) HUMAN RIGHTS: ARE THERE NOT INHERENT
IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S EMPHASIS ON
HUMAN RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE DANGERS
FOR DETENTE, FOR HARDENING THE SOVIET
LEADERS' POSITIONS ON RELATED ISSUES,
AND FOR TRANQUILITY IN EASTERN EUROPE?

C) MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA: IN WHAT VEIN WILL THE US
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DICUSS THESE AREAS WITH THE SOVIETS?

D) ECONOMIC ISSUES: WILL EAST-
WEST TRADE MFN, OR CREDITS BE ON YOUR AGENDA FOR MOSCOW?

E) NATO SUMMIT: IF THE ISSUE IS STILL OPEN, ALLIES MAY ASK
ABOUT A NATO SUMMIT IN LONDON. STRAUSS-KHANN

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